CONFEDERATION

AND

Amendment of the Local Constitution

CONSIDERED.

FOR NFLD. STUDIES
1982

BY

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ST. JOHN'S, N. F.:

PRINTED AT THE "TELEGRAPH" OFFICE BY JOHN T. BURTON.

1867.

Price, One Shilling.

Nfld.
FF
1032
P5
c. 2

x Lib of Parliament Ottawa. Reprinting missing x

To the People of Newfoundland:

FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN,—

As the question of Confederation with the other British North American Colonies is one which will undoubtedly be brought at an early period before the Legislature and people of this Island for decision, one way or the other, I have, in the absence of any attempt by others, undertaken the task of drawing your attention especially to the subject, by means of this short Pamphlet.

My intention is to do so in as clear and simple a form as I can command, and with as much brevity as the subject will admit.

I may say for myself, as those who know me and judge me fairly will believe, that if in this matter selfishness can in any way be attributed to me, it is regard for a self-interest which is dependent upon the good which must accrue to that common country of which I am a Native, and of whose people I am one, having no interest and no hope or aspiration outside or beyond it and them; and I would, if for this reason alone, advocate nothing but what I believe to be for the public advantage. I say this much, because I am aware how ready some are for the sake of damaging those and impugning the acts and language of those they have an interest in injuring or opposing, to attribute false and selfish motives. Not that there is any argument in this kind of imputation, for the question is not whether any particular man or men have self-interest in view, or are likely to benefit more than some others. The question in controversy will remain the same. Is it good or is it bad? What are the arguments on one side and the other, and what are the conclusions to be drawn from these reasons?

To these introductory remarks I would add that as one motive for the publication of this Review, I am prompted as a politician by a desire not to be misunderstood or misinterpreted by the people of the country, and my constituents in particular, whose interests I represent, and whose welfare as such is in this matter my chief concern.

Since the question of a Constitution was agitated, we have had none of equal public importance before us as that of Confederation. It is a very serious and a very delicate one—one upon which no man needs be ashamed to have hesitated, to have wavered or to have changed his views. I may say for myself that my opinion has never much changed. I have always believed that Newfoundland was in a different position from the Continental Colonies — that while with regard to them the benefit of amalgamation was apparent and positive because of their close connection and of their similarity of character and their common interest in all public works—we were so placed that without special provisions suited to our local circumstances the principle of Confederation would not be applicable, and could not be justly applied to this Colony. I was and still am opposed to the Quebec Convention, upon the general terms of which the Canadas, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia have entered the Union ; but as that Union has been since carried out, and as if we remain out of it we shall be subjected to serious disadvantages arising from a separate existence, as well as excluded from its positive benefits, I now feel that we ought to prepare ourselves to negotiate for admission upon the best terms we can secure, and if certain concessions be made, to unite with the rest. The matter will certainly be brought before the Legislature in its next session, and I should be one to oppose the determination of the question until the suffrages of the people had been taken upon it ; but in common justice to the country, the Constituencies should be made aware beforehand what are to be the terms and conditions upon which we may become a part of the Dominion, and the Legislature and Government should take early steps to ascertain this. There is no use and no reason in going to the country upon "Confederation" or "no Confederation," for as the Quebec Convention does not in all respects meet the views of the people, the whole question is one of terms. The Nova Scotians, in their late elections, rightly rejected those members who voted for the Union, without first asking their assent. Our Legislature will I hope first ascertain the best arrangement to be made, and then ask you if you are willing. We shall consider by and bye what we ought in regard for our peculiar interests to require at the hands of the Dominion in return for the favor of extending its territory and influence by the adhesion of this Colony.

In the first place, however, let us enquire what are or should be our motives for desiring, on improved terms, union with the other Confederated Provinces.

To begin with, we can not be blind to the present condition of our own Colony.

The advocates for a continuation of the present political situation, under any circumstances, must admit the impoverished state of the people, and the continued destitution of years standing, from which they can point to no means of escape, and for which they can devise no remedy out of any resources we can now command.

Mercantile enterprise is certainly not so active as it was—the amount of capital used in prosecuting the trade and fisheries of the country has been diminishing year by year. Supplies are curtailed—comparatively little credit is given to the fisherman upon the faith of coming voyages—confidence in the result of the country's staple industries must therefore have diminished, or mercantile speculation has for other causes been reduced—the once flourishing middle class of planters and seal-killers has almost ceased to exist. We witness constant emigrations of large numbers of the best and ablest of our people driven from their homes by untoward circumstances to seek for those means of subsistence they fail to secure here. We find the number of tradesmen, shopkeepers and artisans, immensely diminished, and the position of those that do eke out a livelihood very different from what it was in former times. We see in the Capital of the country, the chief seat of its trade, an immense reduction in the value of all property; whole blocks of valuable buildings tenantless, and not worth their ground rent, when some years ago they were hives of thriving industry and busy trade. In foreign markets, we who once had no considerable competitors, have lost our credit as the best of codfish curers and exporters, and are looked upon as second-rate. Our herring and salmon fisheries, especially the former, which ought to be sources of wealth, almost sufficient of themselves to support an population, are from want of fuller prosecution and from bad management of comparatively small account as a staple industry. The endeavour to develop any means of operative employment beyond the fisheries is limited to a few attempts at mining, and there seems to be no intention upon the part of local capitalists to engage in a business which would appear under circumstances of encouragement to be hopeful of valuable results.

The successful seal and cod fisheries of the past season have not effected that improvement in the condition of the people at large, which was anticipated. The general result is that pauperism has become a system—a political institution involving a regular item of public expenditure, yearly amounting to nearly

one-fifth of the Revenue. This, w[illegible] is dire necessity, may be partly the result of abuse in days p[illegible] —it exists nevertheless as an incorrigible fact, without any means of correction—without any mode for the defrayal of its expense, except from the public chest, as there are no ways in which the country can for the most part be directly taxed to discharge an obligation which in other places falls upon the landed and other property of the immediate localities where it arises. Our people require encouragement, stimulus, and better example.

The revenue of the Colony is inadequate for the public services. The balance against it has been gradually increasing. The local Debentures but a few years ago purchased at a premium, sell now at discount. It is doubtful if any Government could, without an inordinate sacrifice, raise any further amount upon the credit of the Colony in the shape of a public debt. The public expenditure can not be very largely reduced.

Under this state of affairs how much longer can any ministry sustain itself and carry on the Government of the Colony? Certainly not without a very considerable increase in the present rate of taxation—equal to, if not much exceeding anything to be anticipated from the Confederate Government, without the benefit of having free trade with the other Colonies, and subject to the disadvantages their hostile tariffs and alienation from us will render us liable to.

All this makes a dark and gloomy picture; but we must confront it boldly and in the light of truth and reason. We can not by turning its face to the wall change its dark shades into lightness and beauty. Unreasoning "Anti-Confederates on any terms" will say, how is Confederation to change the prospect? I say, a continuation of the present condition offers no hope of improvement, and that would be quite a sufficient answer. Experiment thus not only becomes justifiable, but it is forced upon us as a duty, as the present fails we are bound to try a change which can not make us worse off or more burthened than we must be without it; but I contend further, that if we can enter the Union upon the terms I am about to suggest, there is hope, nay, a certainty, of amelioration; and if an arrangement substantially approaching such terms can be effected, I cease to be an Anti-Confederate, and shall use every effort on my part to secure amalgamation.

I shall first consider the general bearing of a Union with others. Well, then, we make a change, and as I have said we are bound, if the opportunity be offered to us to try the effect

of change when our position is so wretched in the presence of wealth so manifest. There is no change to try, but that proposed to us in the form of a union with the other Colonies. Those Colonies are in a state of great prosperity. The Provinces lately called the Canadas have a large public debt, but they are possessed of immense public property and popular wealth, indicating the existence of industrial resources and capabilities, agricultural, mining, and manufacturing, offering the justification, while affording the security for the outlay. Nova Scotia was never in the enjoyment of a higher degree of prosperity, and New Brunswick is a Province in a healthy condition. Our allies, therefore, would be desirable friends or partners in a general point of view, and there certainly can be no doubt that political and international connection does create a sympathy; does tend to intercourse; does promote interchange of products and trade relations; does bring peoples into healthy contact, increasing their intelligence, their experience, and their activity—that union as a rule does bring with it solidity and strength, and confers more of the national character and importance upon the acts of legislation and government. History and the experience of daily life teach us that such are the natural consequences, and all these things are good. Then there are some general matters legislated for under the Dominion Constitution which are better managed and regulated by a body representing a large Nation, or a Confederacy of States; and these are amongst other things, the regulation of trade and commerce, the postal service, census and statistics, light-houses, navigation and shipping, quarantine, and the establishment and maintenance of marine hospitals, the regulation of the fisheries, lines of steamships, railways, and other means of Inter-Provincial communication, currency and coinage, weights and measures, immigration, agriculture, the criminal law, superior courts, and the common defence, &c.

Now it may be said we are exceptionally placed, and many of the advantageous consequences of union will be lost to us from our isolated position—that, for instance, and I will say in chief the means of intercourse established between the Continental Colonies, will not be enjoyed by us; but you will see hereafter that I propose as an essential that effective means of intercourse must be established as a condition of our adhesion.

Having referred to the general benefits which flow from a Union of States, and which are not capable of being stated as matters of arithmetic, and which must under circumstances not positively adverse, gradually develop themselves, I turn to the consideration of the disadvantages and unfavorable influences to which we shall be subject, if we conclude to remain out of the Union.

At present, and because it is expected that we are shortly to combine with the rest, our produce is not subject to taxation in Canada;

this can not continue—the Tariff to be established by the Confederated Parliament must affect us if we remain separate, just as it will any foreign nation, and we shall be compelled to enter the markets of the neighbouring Colonies on no more favorable terms than the United States; for instance, while for example, the exports of Nova Scotia will go in duty free; again, the produce of the Confederated States will be subject in our ports to the same duties as imports from foreign nations. We already largely import provisions and other necessaries from the other Colonies, especially from Upper Canada, and these must all hereafter be subjected to the payment of just such duties as the products of foreign nations must pay.

Thus we must be positive pecuniary losers if we refuse to confederate, and instead of fostering a free trade with our neighbours, and extending our connection and business with them, we shall paralyze and destroy our inter-Colonial commerce.

During the past summer I visited Canada for the first time, chiefly for the purpose of ascertaining for myself the character, condition and prospects of the principal Provinces with which we were expected to ally ourselves. I do not intend, here, to speak in rapturous terms of the Canadas. I wish to abstain from any overdrawn estimate of their position or of the possible advantages we may ultimately be led to derive from connection with so magnificent and prosperous a country. In all things I was astonished, and my expectations were far exceeded by the facts, and certainly I must plainly admit that my views, after what I had seen, were more favorably affected towards Confederation than they ever were before.

I merely wish to mention here, that there is not a necessary of life with which the Canadas can not supply themselves and us—our food and our entire clothing, while of course, as we all know, the Provinces can supply us with our coal and lumber. I saw there the example of a peasantry not better placed than ourselves for the rearing of sheep, and the raising and manufacture of wool, producing for their own use cloths, flannel, blanketing, and all other articles of woollen textures; and making their own floor cloth, sheets, towels, and other such goods, and so with their leatherware. This of course, besides the higher class of manufactures in the same articles carried on to a national extent in the Factories of the country. Machinery, and all kinds of metal tools and implements are there also, manufactured, so that the effect has already been, that in New Brunswick which manufactures such articles for itself, the removal of trade restrictions under Confederation has already led to these articles being imported there from Canada, and holding competition with the local industry. Surely the example of such facts must necessarily lead to imitation by us in some of them at least. In connection with this subject I would mention as an extraordinary fact in the condition of the country, that we annually

export tens of thousands of seal-skins and some thousands of hides, to be manufactured into leather abroad, much of which is returned to us in the form of leather and ready-made leatherware, with the extra expense attaching to it of two freights and two duties, while here one tannery can not be successfully conducted.

I know that it has been urged that the Confederate Tariff will operate as one protective of Canadian industries, and that we can continue to import from England and elsewhere, and suppose we admit for the sake of argument that the Union duties were to exceed ours by two, three, or four per cent., would this difference countervail the advantage we should gain by getting such articles as the other Provinces can supply us with duty free; and it must be also remarked, as I said before, that we can not continue the present system in this country without increasing taxation.

Again, we can not provide for ourselves improved intercourse by steam with the outer world—and it is all important that this object should be secured. With such means, and the necessarily extended trade with the other Colonies, will the boldest sceptic deny that the opportunities of the people for enterprise, improvement and general advancement in civilization, and the mutual availing of the resources of each other will be materially promoted.

Again, have we a right to expect that Great Britain will look with favour upon our persistent isolation, and preserve for us a separate department at the Colonial office; that the British Revenues will contribute to our steam service or defray the expense of our troops, &c., if contrary to the imperial policy we decline a reasonable opportunity of uniting with the sister Provinces. Shall we not rather expect to be subject to many trials and expenses and unfavourable distinctions, and possibly while not sharing in the dignity, equality, advantages and protection of the Confederacy, be placed in the position of a Province politically subject to the Government of the Union, and having to correspond with and account to the Imperial Government through it. There is no Constitutional principle to prevent a position so humiliating, and the satisfaction of having claimed and exercised the political privilege of preserving our present form of Government, and an independent existence would in such an event be poor indeed.

Now, as to the Quebec Convention, entered into in 1864, and as I have stated, upon the main terms of which the Canadas (now called Ontario and Quebec,) New Brunswick and Nova Scotia have since Confederated, I will explain what I consider to be such modifications and additional terms as we should expect before affirming the project of Union.

By that Convention, Newfoundland could enter upon conditions, some of which were made specially favorable to our circumstances, and so satisfied were the Delegates from our Government with that scheme at the time, that they said in their letter "For ourselves we have but

to state that we affixed our signatures, as individuals, to that Report, with the full conviction that the welfare of the Colony will be promoted *by entering the Union it proposes*, and that we *can not reject it* without aggravating the injurious consequences of our present isolation," and I am not prepared to say that they or any other advocates of Confederation, who hold views favorable to the adoption of the Quebec Convention, *rather than not Confederate at all*, may not be more correct in their judgment than I and others who think differently.

The Quebec Resolutions, and the Imperial Act since passed, provide for the Executive authority or Government, and the establishment and constitution of the general Legislature. With reference to these fundamental matters, there is no objection made. I think they are as well devised as possible. Our number of Representatives in the House of Commons is, according to population, set down at eight. We can find no fault with an adjustment based upon a principle which applies equally to all. The influence of such a number of well-chosen representatives, united, and having a common end, needs not be inconsiderable, especially when the elements of the whole Parliament are considered, and besides with well-defined terms embodied in any constitutional arrangement we may make, there needs be no fear of serious injustice.

I have before referred sufficiently, I think, for present purposes, to the general powers of the Central Government, except on the question of Taxation. To the General Parliament is referred by the Quebec Resolutions:

"The imposition or regulation of Duties of Customs on Imports and Exports.

The imposition or regulation of Excise Duties.

The raising of money by all or any other modes or systems of Taxation."

Of course it is essential that the right of general taxation, for the purposes of Public Revenue, shall rest with the General Parliament; and it must be borne in mind that no duties can be imposed upon us which will not apply equally to the other Provinces of the Union, so that it is not to be apprehended, and it would be absurd to suppose, that the Federal Government would establish a system of taxation having in view the object of unduly burthening Newfoundland, when the vast population of the whole Union would be subject to the same. But now I come to one of those objections to the Quebec Scheme that I feel bound to take, and to regard as insuperable. The whole project is one anomalous in some respects, and made subject to exception in several. I say, then, that regarding the fact, that in Newfoundland we are without the means of raising any revenue for local purposes by direct taxation; and seeing, also, that for local reasons certain reservations are made regarding the timber, coal, and minerals of New

Brunswick and Nova Scotia; and further, that this Colony would suffer excessively compared with the rest, if any such tax were imposed; our staple products of fish and oil must be expressly declared exempt from taxation on its manufacture or export, for the purposes of the General Government; for I do not hold with some that, arguing from modern principles of political economy, it is sufficient for us to trust to the belief that there is no likelihood or danger of any such duty ever being imposed; and if ever those articles were taxed in the event of imperious emergencies, it should be for our own local purposes. This correction being made, the most serious of all objections would be removed.

By the 66th Section of the Quebec Convention, the Mines, Minerals, and ungranted and unoccupied Crown Lands of the Colony are to belong to the General Government, in place of the Local Government; and in consideration thereof we are to receive $150,000 towards the amount to be annually allowed for our Revenue out of the general Exchequer; and it is provided that the Colony shall retain the right of opening, constructing and controlling roads and bridges through any of the said lands. Now to this proviso I would have added a reservation of the right of the people to cut wood upon all ungranted and unoccupied lands, as they now do. Not that I believe there would or could be any practical interference with the custom, but for caution's sake, on behalf of the poor, I should like it expressly reserved.

This clause to which I have just referred, and by which our mines and minerals are to be transferred to the General Government, has been found fault with. I am, on the other hand, in favor of this provision, because I am (with others much better qualified to judge), convinced, that there is immense undeveloped wealth in this country embedded in its rocks and under its most barren surfaces. The geological survey hitherto prosecuted, the natural conformation of the Island, the numerous promising searches from time to time made, the hidden truths already brought to light, and successful issue by experiments in the Tilt Cove, LaMauche, and other mines, testify to this; and I am inclined to think few will be found to question the greater capacity of the General Government to develop and utilize these resources. Under this clause the Confederacy will have a direct interest in turning them, if possible, to valuable account; and instead of the very imperfect surveys, which the means at the disposal of the Local Government enable it to provide, I have no doubt that such explorations will be conducted on a large and expensive scale by the most able and scientific men, and this, if our hopes be well founded, must lead to the encouragement of enterprise, the formation of Companies, the consequent introduction of wealth, and the employment of the laboring classes. We are unable of ourselves to accomplish these objects. It is of the utmost concern in the present state of the country and its trade, the condition of its people, and the insufficiency of

its fisheries for their support, that they should be accomplished, and that every endeavour should be made, and experiment tried, to create and foster the means of industry. I repeat, then, that I think the public property in mines and minerals will be in better hands, under the control of the General than of the Local Government. If by discovery and successful enterprise they are found to be as valuable as they are believed to be, it will be little matter to us where the royalties may go, so long as our people are provided with profitable labor. If the country be prosperous, and the poor employed, the amount of Revenue in our local Exchequer will be of comparatively little account.

Amongst the matters under the management of the General Government, subject to the Queen, is of course the military defence of the Union. Some alarm has been created by the idea that our people would become subject to be impressed as soldiers and drafted away to other parts. I believe this to be a groundless fear, because in the event of the Dominion and this country being in danger, rather than being able to afford to send away men, we should have to depend for additional protection upon others; but to remove any cause of apprehension upon this head, I would insist upon the introduction of a clause to prevent any compulsory draft and employment of our men out of the Colony itself. Of course, within the Colony, if our hearths and homes were in danger, we should be bound to assist in defending ourselves so far as we could, self-preservation the first law of nature teaches us the duty, and necessity of self defence.

By the Imperial Act establishing the Dominion, the construction and completion of a Railway, connecting the River St. Lawrence with Halifax, are provided for out of the funds of the General Government, and the establishment of complete means of communication across the Continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific, is contemplated. It would be idle to say that remotely we should not benefit by the completion of such means of intercourse, but comparatively to so small an extent that it is all important that we should be brought, by steamships, into closer connection with the American Continent, and the other States of the Dominion, and that we should participate in the benefits of direct steam communication with Europe.

I regard the accomplishment of this object as the most important to be gained through the medium of Confederation, and I would make it an indispensable condition of union with the Dominion, that such means of trade and intercourse should be expressly provided for us as the only way of enabling us effectively to obtain and enjoy the advantages of union. I would have inter colonial steam connecting the whole Dominion at all practicable seasons of the year, and partially, in connection with the

too late to import such a clause; and secondly, it would be inconsistent with all the conditions of union and consequent uniformity in such matters, if a general Parliament were to pass different Tariffs for different Provinces, in relation to such matters, as were to be subject to general taxation; but I find that it will be consistent with the Imperial Act to have provision made for an increase of our subsidy from the Federal Exchequer by a stipulation, that as the population increases to a certain point, the capitation money of eighty cents shall be payable to us upon the increased number; and as I find such a rule applied to New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, there ought to be no difficulty in having it extended to us, and this would with me, be another essential condition of union with the other Provinces.

With regard to the Debentures of our Local Government, it has been urged that they should be all paid off at their full value upon the transfer to the Dominion of such liabilities, upon the ground that the holders have in many instances paid a large premium for them, and that the present possessors may prefer the present local to the future Dominion guarantee.

As a Debenture purchaser and holder, I hardly see the force of this clause. Undoubtedly the General Government must be bound to pay them off at par, as they fall due; but I do not see that the security of the whole Dominion will be less than that of one Province. Perhaps, considering the possibly decreased facility of transfer, it would be desirable to provide that the consolidated stock should be either paid off or exchanged for six per cent. Dominion scrip, and I am hopeful that an arrangement might be made to effect an exchange even of the whole in this way.

The matters I have referred to having been arranged by the objections I have raised being removed, and the additional stipulations provided for, the functions of the Local Government would consist as follows:—

EXCLUSIVE POWERS OF THE PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURE.

1st. The amendment, from time to time, of the Constitution of the Province, except as regards the office of Lieutenant Governor.

2nd. Direct Taxation within the Province, in order to the raising of a Revenue for Provincial purposes, (any tax or other duty on fish and oil, their manufacture, export or otherwise, if ever imposed, to be for local purposes.)

Encouragement of Fisheries,	$4,000
Volunteer Force,	1,200
Sundries, such as repairs of certain Public Buildings, &c., &c.,	4,000
	$90,000

Besides having steam communication secured to us, and as I have also no doubt much larger sums expended for geological research, the encouragement and protection of the Fisheries and the Volunteer Force. We shall also have the satisfaction of commencing a new career with a clean sheet, all our liabilities being taken over by the General Government. This itself will be an encouragement to future wise and thrifty management. The day is not very far distant when the Civil Government was carried on with very much less than the amount which will be thus at our disposal. If we can effect a union on the terms I have proposed, we must then commence the work of self-government upon principles of stricter economy, and as I believe we then may with encreased efficiency of administration. We must alter the Constitution of the Legislature. The mode I propose is to continue the system of responsibility, but to have one House only, altogether popular, with a small number of Representatives in about the relative proportions to each district, and from which House the Executive should be chosen, with the addition of two or three nominees of the Crown in such Executive. I estimate the expense of such a Representative body at about $5,000, instead of $28,000, as at present. This body would, I believe, be much more deliberative in its character, while so vastly more economical than the present elaborate and costly system of legislation. Business would be more calmly approached, and better considered and concluded, than amidst the contentions of a squabbling Assembly of larger size with less concentration—the numbers to be served, and the temptations to corruption much reduced. The remaining Civil expenditure not borne by the Dominion, might be gradually lessened by the abolition of some, and the amalgamation with some reduction in combined salary, of other offices. These points being settled, it would be incumbent upon us then to adjust our expenditure to our means, and to preserve the local credit.

Some have urged the desirability of limiting the Dominion Government to some definite rate of taxation. This is impossible; firstly, because the Constitution has in its fundamental principles been already settled by the Imperial Statute, and it is

ilway, at all times, besides insisting upon a condition that one efficient line of steamers bound to and from Europe should ake St. John's a port of call. Will any one have the hardihood contend, in the face of all the acknowledged conditions civilization, progress and intelligence, that to accomplish such end as this would not be achieving an object of vast importance, and one which is utterly beyond our own means to attempt lone, even if we taxed ourselves to twice the extent of the anadian Tariff. It is not provided for in express terms in the uebec Convention. Some contend that it would follow as a atter of course. I would rather see it in black and white. ich is the feeling of the people upon it, and to satisfy me it ust be so put so that there may be no mistake about it, and no cape from it afterwards. To my mind, this being done, Confederation will have accomplished for us a boon worth a considerable sacrifice, if such a sacrifice were necessary. In connection with the establishment of steam in this way, and for the purpose of attracting traffic, it would be well to have an efficient Floating Dock established, capable of taking up vessels of any tonnage, if the Dominion Government could be induced to undertake it as a public work, in conjunction with the completion of the steam service.

As to the local finances, it is calculated that taking the rules governing the other Colonies as applicable to us, and adding $150,000 to be allowed in consideration of the transfer of our Mines and ungranted Crown Lands, we should have about $370,000 for local expenditure, after being relieved of interest on our public debt, then to become a liability of the Dominion, and of the expenses then to be borne by the Central Government, viz.:—

Governor and Secretary,	$10,524
Lodge Keeper, Fuel and Light, &c., at Government House,	1,201
Receiver General and Clerk,	2,231
Surveyor General and Assistant,	2,537
Supreme Court and Labrador Judges,	3,704
Customs Department, about	8,000
Local Steam,	25,660
Protection of Fisheries,	2,600
Revenue Cruiser,	1,800
Crown Lands Act,	400
Insurance of certain Public Buildings, say	1,000
Public Service,	10,143
Geological Survey, say	4,000

2rd. The borrowing of money on the sole credit of the Province.

4th. The establishment and tenure of Provincial offices, and the appointment and payment of Provincial officers.

5th. The establishment, maintenance, and management of Public and Reformatory Prisons, in and for the Province.

6th. The establishment, maintenance, and management of Hospitals, Asylums, Charities, and Eleemosynary Institutions, in and for the Province, other than Marine Hospitals.

7th. Municipal Institutions in the Province.

8th. Shop, Saloon, Tavern, Auctioneer and other Licenses, in order to the raising of a Revenue for Provincial, Local, or Municipal purposes.

9th. Local works and undertakings, other than such as are to be provided by the Dominion.

10th. The Incorporation of Companies with Provincial objects.

11th. The Solemnization of Marriage in the Province.

12th. Property and Civil Rights in the Province.

13th. The Administration of Justice in the Province, including the constitution, maintenance, and organization of Provincial Courts, both of Civil and Criminal jurisdiction, and including procedure in Civil matters in those Courts.

14th. The imposition of punishment by fine, penalty, or imprisonment, for enforcing any Law of the Province made in relation to any matter coming within any of the classes of subjects enumerated in the Section.

15th. Generally all matters of a merely local or private matter in the Province.

EDUCATION.

The Legislature of the Province may exclusively make laws in relation to Education, subject and according to the following provisions:—

1st. Nothing in any such law shall prejudicially affect any right or privilege with respect to Denominational Schools, which any class of persons have by law in the Province at the Union.

2nd. Where in any Province a system of separate or dissentient Schools exists by law at the Union, or is thereafter established by the Legislature of the Province, an appeal shall lie to the Governor General in Council, from any act or decision of any Provincial authority, affecting any right or privilege of the Protestant or Roman Catholic minority of the Queen's subjects, in relation to Education.

AGRICULTURE AND IMMIGRATION.

In each Province the Legislature may make laws in relation to Agriculture and Immigration, subject to any action on the same subjects by the General Parliament.

There are few of the strongest Anti-Confederates who would not be perfectly satisfied if the project of union could be consummated upon the terms I have suggested, *as the essential or indispensable conditions* of our adhesion. You will observe that some minor matters I have suggested as desirable only, and these latter it would be my endeavour to secure by negotiation. And here I must meet what I consider to be a very absurd proposition, put forward by some objectors, viz: that Canada should propound to us a set of Resolutions more favourable than those of the Quebec Delegates. Surely, we ourselves are much more conversant with our local circumstances and peculiar wants, than strangers or Canadian politicians, who probably would consider the Quebec Convention as just if not liberal towards us, until informed to the contrary, and shewn in what particulars we required different or additional terms. It is our duty to form this question for ourselves, and having agreed upon the conditions to present them for the consideration of the General Parliament and the Imperial Government—if not in the manner expected, to decline the union—if otherwise cordially to associate ourselves to a Confederacy, by which I have no doubt we would be valued, and in that case benefitted.

I am too great a patriot to underestimate the importance of Newfoundland to the completion of the Dominion. I am satisfied that, particularly in a territorial point of view, there is a strong desire for our conjunction. Our position on the Atlantic and in the Gulf, especially to a State, with so little seaboard is, nationally speaking, one which can not be overlooked nor undervalued. Canadian politicians admit this; they speak of us as "the key of the Confederacy"; they look upon us as essential to its maritime perfection. I believe that they anticipate our union with considerable satisfaction, and are disposed to meet us in negotiation in a liberal spirit.

Again, we shall be valued as a neighbour, with whom under the operation of a Free Tariff, the other Provinces will be enabled to cultivate an enlarged and profitable trade. They, (Canadas particularly,) will regard us as that portion of the Dominion which will provide the chief consumers of their products and manufactures. In Newfoundland they will perceive a country

which will contribute immensely to the commercial importance of the Confederacy, as the principal fish and oil-producing country in the world; and our mines, I believe they will esteem as a valuable acquisition.

Think you that national pride and self-interest will not lead to every legitimate and feasible endeavour to turn to the most advantageous account a maritime and mercantile position and trade resources of such importance. Is not mercantile intercourse likely to be stimulated? Are not our fisheries and our fishermen likely to be encouraged and protected; and will the national property in our lands and mines be allowed to lie waste and profitless? Will not, too, the example of their home industry probably improve us? And I see no reason that our merchants should dread any possible competition. They have by their established position, their knowledge and experience, an immense advantage over all others—a superiority which I believe they need not forfeit. If competition should offer, it is known to be the soul of trade, and will give renewed life and energy to mercantile enterprise.

In drawing my review to a close, I would remark that I have no desire to indulge in the exuberant contemplation of a great and powerful nation, to be composed of the elements of the New Dominion. I have no desire to attract you t the project of union with expectations which may be exaggerated, nor with hopes and ideas that may be fanciful and problemetical. Truly the Dominion will embrace a vast territory with splendid resources, and with capabilities equal to the support of many millions of people, and it may be the germ of a self-supporting, self-defending nation; but at present, at least, I prefer to contemplate it in the light of continued connection with Great Britain, and with the advantages of the supervision and protection of the Parent State.

Again, I am desirous to avoid creating any undue impression of great and sudden changes in our favour by connection, no matter how good the terms to be agreed on may be.

I by no means expect that we shall be immediately raised from a position of depression and industrial langour, to a high degree of prosperity and activity; but with wise and well digested pre-arrangements, I do anticipate the gradual amelioration of our condition, the improvement of our present and the more rapid and effective developement of our dormant resources.

Under any circumstances, and to make any change profitable, we must cultivate a spirit of greater self-reliance. We must, if possible, destroy pauperism as a system; by prosecuting our

fisheries with greater energy; by extending the Bank fishery as the means of employment in early Spring; by improving the Herring fishery; by taking greater pains with the cure of Codfish and Herring; by the more extended cultivation of the ground—the raising of sheep, and in that way the creation of winter labor for our people—by generally increased thrift and industry.

I believe there is a large margin for self-improvement, and with self-help the advantages of a well devised compact for union with our neighbours, can not but be realized in civilizing trade creating intercourse, in enlarged means for the encouragement and protection of our staple industries, and in the advancement of other means of employment which we are unable or unwilling of ourselves actively to prosecute.

APPENDIX.

I would propose the passing of an Act, similar to the Bill hereto annexed, for the reduction of the Civil Expenditure.

I also append an approximate statement of the probable Local Expenditure under the new *regime*.

A BILL

To Provide for the Reduction of the Civil Expenditure.

WHEREAS it is expedient to make provision for the reduction of the Civil Expenditure:

Be it therefore enacted, that the following offices be abolished, as they respectively become vacant, viz.: the offices of Solicitor General, Financial Secretary, Clerk in Financial Secretary's office, Second Clerk in Colonial Secretary's Office; the Police Magistrates, St. John's; Magistrates in all the Outports, save as hereinafter provided; all Clerks of the Peace, except St. John's; Constables in all places, except at St. John's, Harbor Grace and Carbonear; Brigus and Port de-Grave, (where there shall be but three), Bay Roberts, (where there shall be but two), and one in all such places as there may be provision hereinafter made for Stipendiary Magistrates; all Ferrymen, except those essential to the Postal and Road service.

2.—The salaries herein provided shall be payable to the following Officers, after the present Incumbents shall cease to hold them, viz.:—

COLONIAL SECRETARY'S OFFICE.

The Colonial Secretary	$2000
Assistant Colonial Secretary, (in place of present Clerk)	1000
Office Keeper, who shall be Keeper of Colonial Building	400

TREASURY.

Colonial Treasurer, who shall be Cashier of the Savings' Bank, with a salary as latter of $1000, and as Treasurer of	$1000

BOARD OF WORKS.

The Chairman	1000
Secretary	600
Superintendent and Inspector of Public Works and Buildings	600
Surveyor and Inspector of Roads	600

LAW DEPARTMENT.

Attorney General	2000
High Sheriff, Central District	1200
High Sheriff, Northern District	1200
High Sheriff, Southern District	1000
Bailiff and Keeper of Court House, Central District	400
Chief Clerk and Registrar Supreme Court	1600
Clerk in his Office	400
Stationery, &c.	100
Crier and Tipstaff, St. John's	280
Ditto Harbor Grace	80
Chief Clerks and Registrars, North and South, to be superseded by Local Officers, paid by fees.	

POLICE DEPARTMENT.

Recorder, St. John's	2000
Recorder, Harbor Grace	1000
Clerk of the Peace, St. John's	1000
Superintendent of Police	600
Two Sergeants of Police, St. John's	650
Seventeen Constables, at $250	4,250
Gaoler, St. John's	600
Turnkey, ditto	200
Two Assistant Turnkeys	400

OUTPORTS.

Gaoler and Court House Keeper, Harbor Grace	400
The same at Brigus	50
[illegible]	50
Bonavista	[illegible]

The same at Greenspond	$50
Twillingate and Fogo	50
Ferryland	50
Placentia	50
Burin	50

Provided that it shall be lawful to appoint any such Gaolers (except at Harbor Grace) to the office of Constable herein mentioned.

CONSTABLES IN OUTPORTS.

A Chief Constable and 12 others at Harbor Grace	$4000
A Chief Constable and 7 others at Carbonear	1600
Three Constables at Brigus and Port-de-Grave	500
Two Constables at Bay Roberts	250

In each place where the services of a Stipendiary Magistrate are hereinafter provided, and no provision for Constables hereinbefore made, there shall be one Constable with a salary of Eighty Dollars; provided that nothing herein contained shall prevent the appointment of other Constables to be paid fees of office provided by law $640

STIPENDIARY MAGISTRATES.

It shall be lawful for the Governor or other officer administering the Government, to appoint such person as may be Sub-Collector of Customs, or any other suitable person being a Justice of the Peace, to be Stipendiary Magistrate in the respective places, and for services as such with the salaries following, viz.:—

Brigus and Port-de-Grave	$400
Carbonear	400
Trinity	300
Bonavista	300
Twillingate and Fogo	300
Ferryland	200
Placentia	200
Burin	200
Harbor Briton	200
Burgeo and LaPoile	200

MEDICAL.

Four District Surgeons, St. John's	$1000
Two ditto Conception Bay	500
Gaol Surgeon, St. John's	180
Ditto Harbor Grace	100
Physician, Lunatic Asylum	1200
Physician, St. John's Hospital	400

(Say another to be paid for by General Government for Marine department.)

RELIEF OF THE POOR.

Commissioner	$800
Two Inspectors	800

ESTIMATED LOCAL EXPENDITURE.

Under foregoing Bill	$41,630
Casual Supply	33,370
Road service	40,000
Education	60,000
Poor Relief	60,000
Legislature	5,000
	$240,000
Currency,	£60,000
British Sterling.	£48,000

The above estimate will partially at first and eventually altogether leave a surplus of about $130,000, to be expended by the Local Legislature for the benefit of the Colony, to increase Education or Road Grants, for further Poor Relief in case of emergency, and for other purposes.